

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 SOFIA 00316 01 OF 03 130800Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-11

SAJ-01 SAM-01 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 /084 W

----- 065918

R 121417Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 804

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 SOFIA 0316

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PINT, BU

SUBJECT: BCP THESES ON STATUS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. LENGTHY "THESES" CALL FOR CHANGES IN PARTY WORK, PARTICULARLY AT LOCAL LEVEL AND AMONG CADRES, TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH THE COMPLEX TASKS FACING BULGARIAN SOCIETY IN PERIOD TO 1990. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON IMPROVING PARTY MEMBERSHIP BOTH BY RECRUITMENT AND PURGING, WITH REISSUANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS PROPOSED. MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IS DISBANDING AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX DISTRICT BCP COMMITTEES AND RECONSTITUTION OF MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES. THESES INVEIGH AGAINST VICES OF "BOURGEOISM" AND VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST MORALITY INCLUDING DEBAUCHERY, CAREERISM, ABUSE OF POWER, TOADYISM, ETC. LOVE AND RESPECT FOR CPSU AND USSR IS ADMONISHED AND ANTI-SOVIETISM--PARTICULARLY THE MAOIST VARIETY THEREOF--

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 SOFIA 00316 01 OF 03 130800Z

DECRIED. THESES ARE IN PART SECULAR RELIGIOUS SERMON,

BUT BEYOND THAT INDICATE GENUINE CONCERNS OF THE LEADERSHIP AND DIMENSIONS OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE. INTERESTING STATISTICS ON PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN LABOR FORCE ARE ALSO INCLUDED. END SUMMARY.

2. THESES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF BCP ON STATUS AND DEVELOPMENT OF BCP AND OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS COVERED OVER FIVE FULL PAGES OF RABOTNICHESKO DELO FEBRUARY 5. THIS THIRD SET OF THESES (EARLIER ONES WERE ON ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT) IN PREPARATION FOR XI PARTY CONGRESS (OPENING MARCH 29) IS DIVIDED INTO TWO MAJOR SECTIONS: I. LEADING ROLE OF PARTY, AND II. PRESSING COMMON PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS. FORMER IS MUCH MORE INTERESTING OF TWO, CONCENTRATING ON TASKS AND WEAKNESSES OF BCP, WHILE LATTER OUTLINES SUPPORTING ROLES TO BE PLAYED BY FATHERLAND FRONT, TRADE UNIONS AND YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

3. OPENING SECTION OF THESES OUTLINES SUCCESS OF PARTY SINCE X CONGRESS, STATES BCP TODAY "IS UNITED AND STANDS FIRMLY BEHIND" CC AND TODOR ZHIVKOV, AND CONCLUDES DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY UNTIL 1990 DEMANDS "IMPERATIVELY AN INCESSANT ENHANCEMENT OF LEADING ROLE OF PARTY". THREE MAJOR POINTS ARE MADE IN THIS CONTEXT:

1) "PARAMOUNT DUTY" OF BCP ORGANS AND MEMBERS IS USE OF "PERSUASION" TO EXPLAIN DECISIONS OF XI CONGRESS AND CC, 2) THERE MUST "BE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE" IN WORK OF CADRES AND ACTIVISTS AT VARIOUS LEVELS TO COPE WITH SCOPE AND COMPLEXITY OF TASKS, AND 3) UNITY AND FRATERNITY WITH CPSU WILL CONTINUE TO BE "UNSHAKEABLE FOUNDATION" FOR FURTHERING INTEGRATION AND ALL-AROUND DRAWING TOGETHER OF BULGARIA AND USSR.

4. PARTY MEMBERSHIP. ONE OF MAJOR EMPHASES OF THESES IS IMPROVING QUALITY OF BCP MEMBERSHIP. FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN COMPOSITION AND REGULATION OF PARTY GROWTH ARE GIVEN:
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SOFIA 00316 01 OF 03 130800Z

A) NUCLEUS OF WORKERS MUST BE STRENGTHENED, AND POLICY OF ATTRACTING DESERVING MEMBERS OF PEASANT AND COOPERATIVE FARM GROUPS AS WELL AS LARGER NUMBERS OF WORKING WOMEN IS TO BE CONTINUED, BUT THIS GENERAL POLICY IS SUBJECT TO NEEDS FOR STRENGTHENING PARTY WHEREVER NECESSARY. IN CASES OF "EQUAL POLITICAL, MORAL, AND BUSINESS QUALITIES", PRIORITY IS TO BE GIVEN TO

CANDIDATES WITH "HIGHER EDUCATION AND BETTER GENERAL CULTURE."

B) COMPOSITION OF PARTY MUST BE SYSTEMATICALLY REJUVENATED WITH BASIC ADDITIONS FROM RANKS OF KOMSOMOL ACTIVISTS.

C) EDUCATION OF YOUNG COMMUNISTS MUST BE STRENGTHENED WITH STRESS ON SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTION AS WELL AS STRICT OBSERVANCE OF STATUTES AND FULFILLMENT OF PROGRAM.

D) "PARAMOUNT TASK" OF LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS "TIMELY PURGE OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE LOST QUALITIES AS COMMUNISTS". IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT XI CONGRESS ORDAIN THAT PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS BE REPLACED AND THAT PROCESS BE USED TO IMPROVE QUALITIES OF MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANS. (ELSEWHERE IN DOCUMENT COMPLAINTS ARE REGISTERED THAT MEMBERSHIP IS DIFFICULT TO CONTROL FROM TOP AND THAT LOCAL LEVELS HAVE BEEN TOO TOLERANT OF UNSATISFACTORY

MEMBERS.)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 SOFIA 00316 02 OF 03 130749Z

20

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 IO-11 SAJ-01 SAM-01 /084 W

----- 065784

R 121417Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 805

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 3 SOFIA 0316

5. STRUCTURE OF BCP MEMBERSHIP AND OF WORK FORCE.
 EVERY ELEVENTH BULGARIAN--OR EVERY EIGHTH BULGARIAN
 OVER 18 YEARS OF AGE IS NOW A BCP MEMBER. FOLLOWING
 TABLE REFLECTS FURTHER MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS GIVEN IN THESES:

CATEGORY	10TH PARTY CONGRESS	DECEMBER 31, 1975
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	699,476	788,211
WORKERS	40.1 PERCENT	41.4 PERCENT
WHITE COLLAR WORKERS	28.2 PERCENT	30.2 PERCENT
PEASANTS AND MEMBERS OF COOPERATIVE FARMS	26.1 PERCENT	23.0 PERCENT
WOMEN	25.2 PERCENT	27.6 PERCENT
MEMBERS UP TO 50 YEARS OF AGE	(NOT GIVEN)	OVER 70 PERCENT
NEWLY ADMITTED MEMBERS UP TO 30 YEARS OF AGE	(NOT GIVEN)	72.1 PERCENT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 SOFIA 00316 02 OF 03 130749Z

(COMMENT: CATEGORIES HERE DO NOT EXACTLY COINCIDE WITH
 THOSE GIVEN IN LABOR FORCE BREAKDOWN IN FOLLOWING
 PARAGRAPH. HOWEVER, PERCENTAGE OF "WORKERS" AMONG PARTY
 MEMBER IS LOW IN COMPARISON TO THEIR PERCENTAGE OF
 TOTAL LABOR FORCE, AND GROWTH OVER FIVE YEAR PERIOD IS
 SMALL IN VIEW OF BCP EMPHASIS ON THEIR RECRUITMENT.
 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN REMAINS SMALL DESPITE HIGHLY
 PUBLICIZED CLAIMS OF NON-DISCRIMINATION IN BULGARIA.
 ON OTHER HAND, PEASANTS AND COLLECTIVE FARM WORKERS
 APPEAR TO MAKE UP DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE BCP MEMBERS.
 AS WAS NOTED ABOVE, HOWEVER, "NEEDS" OF PARTY DICTATE
 ITS COMPOSITION. END COMMENT.)

6. FOLLOWING TABLE REFLECTS NUMBERS AND SOCIAL
 COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE:

CATEGORY	1970	1974
AVERAGE NO. IN LABOR FORCE	1,967,000	2,449,000
WORKERS	47 PERCENT	57 PERCENT
PEASANTS AND MEMBERS OF COOPERATIVE FARMS	28 PERCENT	15 PERCENT
SOCIALIST INTELLIGENTSIA	23 PERCENT	27 PERCENT
OTHERS	2 PERCENT	1 PERCENT

(COMMENT: CREATION OF AGRO-INDUSTRIAL AND INDUSTRIAL-
 AGRARIAN COMPLEXES HAS APPARENTLY LED TO RATIONALE THAT

UNSPECIFIED NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE ARE CONSIDERED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS RATHER THAN PEASANTS OR MEMBERS OF COOPERATIVE FARMS. AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS AND TECHNICIANS, ON OTHER HAND, ARE SUBSUMED UNDER SOCIALIST INTELLIGENTSIA. THEREFORE RISE IN NUMBER OF "WORKERS" AND DROP IN NUMBERS OF "PEASANTS, ETC." REFLECTS NOT ONLY EXPANDED INDUSTRY AND MOVEMENT TO URBAN CENTERS, BUT ALSO REDEFINITION OF CATEGORIES. PRESUMABLY "PEASANTS, ETC." CATEGORY WILL CONTINUE TO "WITHER AWAY" WITH IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY. END COMMENT.)

7. LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATION AND WORK WITH CADRES. IN ADDITION TO GENERAL ADMONISHMENTS ON ROLE OF LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, THESES PROPOSE--WITH EXTENSIVE RATIONALE--DISCONTINUATION OF "EXPERIMENT", BEGUN NOVEMBER 1973, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SOFIA 00316 02 OF 03 130749Z

OF SETTING-UP DISTRICT COMMITTEES IN AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES, INSTEAD CALLING FOR RETURN TO "PROVEN" THREE-STAGE STRUCTURE OF PARTY ORGANS: CENTRAL COMMITTEE, OKRUG COMMITTEES AND MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES. AGRO-INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COMMITTEES ARE TO BE DISSOLVED AND MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES ARE TO BE RESTORED. COORDINATION OF PARTY WORK IN INDIVIDUAL AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES IS TO BE ASSIGNED AN ORGANIZER OF THE OKRUG COMMITTEE WHO WILL HAVE AN OFFICE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER OF THE COMPLEX. RETURN TO PREVIOUS SYSTEM ALLEGEDLY WILL FACILITATE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HIGHER ORGANS AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS WORKERS ON FORMS.

8. TASK OF PARTY ORGANS IS TO APPLY CONTROL AND INSPECTION LOCALLY ON THE SPOT WHERE PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED, AND A REVALUATION OF TESTED FORMS SUCH AS REPORTS FROM LOCEYD TO HIGHER ORGANS IS TO TAKE PLACE. RIGHT SELECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CADRE IS ALSO ESSENTIAL AND CADRE SHORTCOMINGS SUCH AS "VIOLATIONS OF PARTY MORALITY AND SOCIALIST LEGALITY--CONSUMER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIETY, INTERCESSION, DEBAUCHERY, ABUSE OF POWER, ETC." MUST BE CORRECTED.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 SOFIA 00316 03 OF 03 130802Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 IO-11 SAJ-01 SAM-01 /084 W

----- 065932

R 121417Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 806

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 3 OF 3 SOFIA 0316

9. MILITANT AND EFFECTIVE IDEOLOGICAL WORK. DESPITE CLAIM THAT SUBSTANTIAL POSITIVE CHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE IN THIS FIELD IN RECENT YEARS, THESES STATE EFFORTS MUST BE DIRECTED--AMONG OTHER THINGS--TOWARD CREATION OF AN ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK AS "A FULL-VALUE CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL", AN IRRECONCILABLE DRIVE AGAINST OFFENDERS OF MORAL PRINCIPLES AND NORMS AND AGAINST "PHUBISTINISM AND JOB HUNTING, INTERCESSION, SELFISHNESS AND TOADYISM, LOOSE MORALS, ETC.," AND EXPOSURE IN A MORE CONVINCING WAY OF BOURGEOIS VICES. CENTRAL PLACE MUST ALSO BE GIVEN TO STRENGTHENING "LOVE AND RESPECT" FOR CPSU AND USSR; FIGHT AGAINST "ANTI-SOVIETISM AS MAIN IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF ANTI-COMMUNISM" AND STRUGGLE FOR "IDEOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION OF MAOISM" ARE PART OF CONSISTENT SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM. ACTIVE DRIVE AGAINST "ALL AND ANY DISPLAY OF NATIONAL NIHILISM AND NATIONALISM" MUST ALSO BE CONDUCTED.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 SOFIA 00316 03 OF 03 130802Z

10. OTHER SECTIONS. REMAINING SUBDIVISIONS OF PART I OF THESES ARE DEVOTED TO DEVELOPMENT OF MASS MEDIA AND COOPERATION BETWEEN BCP AND AGRARIAN UNION. FORMER SAYS MASS MEDIA ARE TO GIVE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO

"POPULARIZATION OF SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE" WHILE
"UNMASKING IN A CONVINCING AND IRRECONCILABLE MANNER
BOURGEOIS WAY OF LIFE". IT IS ALSO TO CONCENTRATE ITS
ATTENTION ON PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND "CRITICIZE BOLDY
WEAKNESSES AND SHORTCOMINGS" IN BULGARIAN SOCIETY.
SUBDIVISION ON AGRARIAN UNION PAYS PREDICTABLE HOMAGE TO
COOPERATION WITH BCP.

11. PRESSING COMMON PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND
MOVEMENTS. FATHERLAND FRONT AND TRADE UNIONS ARE ESPECIALLY
CHARGED WITH ASSISTANCE IN MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIETY AND
ECONOMY, AND ROLES OF FATHERLAND FRONT AND COMMUNIST
YOUTH IN EDUCATION AND INDOCTRINATION ARE STRESSED.

12. OVERALL COMMENT. AMID THE INEVITABLE CLICHES AND
SERMONIZING, THESES GIVE INTERESTING INDICATIONS OF
PROBLEMS PREOCCUPYING BCP LEADERSHIP. THERE CAN BE
LITTLE DOUBT THE LEADERSHIP IS FACED WITH WIDESPREAD
APATHY AND THAT IT HAS DIFFICULTIES IN GALVANIZING ITS
OWN RANK AND FILE AS WELL AS THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL.
FEARS OF SEDUCTIVENESS OF "BOURGEOIS VALUES" ARE
PROBABLY WELL FOUNDED; BULGARIANS TOO WOULD LIKE MORE
OF THE BETTER THINGS OF LIFE OF WHICH THEY ARE NOW
BEGINNING TO GET A TASTE. AND THERE IS ALWAYS A BASIS
CONTRADICTION FACING A LEADERSHIP WHICH EXCLUDES MOST
OF SOCIETY FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS, EXCLUDES ITS
OWN LOWER CADRES FROM SIGNIFICANT DECISION-MAKING, YET
NEEDS TO GENERATE SYMPATHY AND ENTHUSIASM FOR ITS
GOALS. EMPHASIS IN THESES ON IMPROVEMENT OF
LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND KEY CADRES AS INTERFACE WITH
INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS AND PUBLIC REFLECTS EFFORT TO
COMBAT THESE PROBLEMS.

13. ORGANIZATIONALLY, IT MUST BE ACCEPTED AT FACE
VALUE THAT BCP IS HAVING SOME GENUINE PROBLEMS.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SOFIA 00316 03 OF 03 130802Z

PROPOSAL TO CHANGE PARTY CARDS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE
ACCEPTED, WHICH WILL CAUSE CONSIDERABLE CONCERN--AND
PROBABLY A FLURRY OF ACTIVITY--AMONG LETHARGIC PARTY
MEMBERS. EMBASSY HAS NO INSIGHTS INTO DIRECT
MOTIVATION FOR DROPPING AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
DISTRICT COMMITTEES, BUT IT MAY BE THAT
COMMITTEES SIMPLY COULD NOT DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH
DISTRICTS AS LARGE AS THESE. IN THIS SECTION, AS
ELSEWHERE, WE SEE SIGNS THAT THE LEADERSHIP FEELS
BASIC PARTY STRUCTURE ARE BECOMING TOO DIVORCED FROM
THE MASSES. ADDITIONALLY, CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN
THE VERY IMPORTANT AGRICULTURAL SECTOR APPEAR TO GO

BEYOND THOSE SIMPLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO ADVERSE WEATHER
CONDITIONS, THUS PARTY NEEDS TO FIND WAYS TO BOOST LAGGING
ENTHUSIASM AND WILLINGNESS TO WORK IN FIELDS.
HERZ

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LINE, COMMUNISTS, REORGANIZATIONS, PARTY ORGANIZATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SOFIA00316
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760055-0173
From: SOFIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760255/aaaabvtb.tel
Line Count: 389
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <01 JUL 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BCP THESES ON STATUS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY
TAGS: PINT, BU, BCP, BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006